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Approved For Release 2003/03/25 : CIA-RDP68B00432R000500020002-7 carried out over C.I.A.: Maker of Policy, or Tool?

Survey Finds Widely Feared Agency Is Tightly Controlled

Following is the first of five articles on the Central Intelligence Agency. The articles are by a team of New York Times correspondents consisting of Tom Wicker, John W. Finney. Max Frankel, F. W. Kenworthy and other members of the Times staff. 是被

Special to The New York Times WASHINGTON, April 24-One day in 1960 an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency caught a plane in "lokyo, flew to Singapore and checked into a hotel room in time to receive a visitor. The agent plugged a lie detector into an overloaded electrical circuit and blew out the lights in the building.

In the investigation that followed, the agent and a C.I.A.

colleague were arrested and jailed as american spies.

The fasilt was an international incident that infuriated London, not once but twice. It embarrassed an American Ambassador. It led an American Secretary of State to write a

rar rever of apology to a for-eight of State.

Fig. 10 Apology to a for-eight of State.

Fig. 20 Apology to a for-eight of State. all Americans and of the C.I.A. in particular, thus increasing the apprehension of his Oriental

neighbors about the agency and enhancing his own political po-

Ultimately, the incident led the United States Government to tell a lie in public and then to admit the lie even more pub-

The lie was no sooner disclosed than a world predisposed to suspicion of the C.I.A. and unaware of what really had happened in Singapore five years earlier began to repeat questions that have dogged the intelligence agency and the United States Government for vears:

Twas this secret body, which was known to have everthrown governments and installed governments and installed others, raised armies, stag Approved For Release 2003/03/25: CIA-RDP68B00432R00050 (1974) of the British others, raised armies, stag Approved For Release 2003/03/25: CIA-RDP68B00432R00050 (1974) of the British others, raised armies, stag Approved For Release 2003/03/25: CIA-RDP68B00432R00050 (1974) of the British others, raised armies, stag Approved For Release 2003/03/25: CIA-RDP68B00432R00050 (1974) of the British others, raised armies, stag Approved For Release 2003/03/25: CIA-RDP68B00432R00050 (1974) of the British others, raised armies, stag Approved For Release 2003/03/25: CIA-RDP68B00432R00050 (1974) of the British others, raised armies, stag Approved For Release 2003/03/25: CIA-RDP68B00432R00050 (1974) of the British others, raised armies, stag Approved For Release 2003/03/25: CIA-RDP68B00432R00050 (1974) of the British others, raised armies, stag Approved For Release 2003/03/25: CIA-RDP68B00432R00050 (1974) of the British others, raised armies, stag Approved For Release 2003/03/25: CIA-RDP68B00432R00050 (1974) of the British others, raised armies, stag Approved For Release 2003/03/25: CIA-RDP68B00432R00050 (1974) of the British others, raised armies, stag Approved For Release 2003/03/25: CIA-RDP68B00432R00050 (1974) of the British of the Bri

The Central Intelligence Agency, which does not often appear in the news, made headlines on two counts in recent days. The agency was found to have interceded in the slander trial of one of its agents in an effort to obtain his exoneration without explanation except that he had done its bidding in the interests of national security. And it was reported to have planted at least five agents among Michigan State University scholars engaged in a foreign aid project some years ago in Vietnam. Although the specific work of these agents and the circumstances of their employment are in dispute, reports of their activities have raised many questions about the purposes and methods of the C.I.A., and about its relationship to other parts of the Government and nongovernmental institutions. Even larger questions about control of the C.I.A. within the framework of a free government and about its role in foreign affairs are periodically brought up in Congress and among other governments. To provide background for these questions, and to determine what issues of public policy are posed by the agency's work, The New York Times has spent several months looking into its affairs. This series is the result.

invasion of Cuba, spied and counterspied, established air-lines, radio stations and schools and supported books, magazines and businesses, running out of the control of its supposed political master?

qwas it in fact damaging, while it sought to advance, the national interest? Could it spend huge sums for ransoms, bribes and subversion without check or regard for the consequences?

qDid it lie to or influence the political leaders of the United States to such an extent that it really was an invisible government" more powerful than even the President?

These are questions constantly asked around the world. Some of them were raised again re-cently when it was disclosed that Michigan State University was the cover for some C.I.A. agents in South Vietnam during a multimillion-dollar technical assistance program the university conducted for the regime of the late President Ngo Dinh Diem.

Last week, it also became known that an Estonian refugee who was being sued for slander in a Federal District Court in Baltimore was resting his de-fense on the fact that the alleged slander had been committed in the course of his duties as a C.I.A. agent.

In a public memorandum addressed to the court, the C.I.A. stated that it had ordered the stated that it had ordered the agent, Juri Raus, to disclose no further details of the case, in order to protect the nation's foreign intelligence apparatus. Mr. Raus is claiming complete legal immunity from the suit on the grounds that he had acted as an official agent of the Fed-

eral Government. Such incidents, bringing the activities of the C.I.A. into dim and often dismaying public view, have caused members of Congress and many publications to question ever more persistently the role and propriety of one of Washington's most discussed and least understood institutions. Some of the misgivings have been shared by at least two American President, Harry S. Truman and John F. Ken-

A Wide Examination

To seek reliable answers to these questions; to sift, where possible, fact from fancy and theory from condition; to determine what real questions of public policy and international relations are posed by the existence and operations of the C.I.A., The New York Times are compiled information and has compiled information and opinions from informed Ameri-

opinions from intorned Americans throughout the world.

It has opinined reports from 20 foreign correspondents and editors with recent service in more than 35 countries and from reporters in Washington who interviewed more than 50 present and former Govern-ment officials, members of Congress and military officers.

rnis study, carried out over several months, disclosed, for instance, that the Singapore affair resulted not from a lack. or political control or from reck-lessness by the C.I.A., but from bad fortune and diplomatic blundering.

It found that the C.I.A., for

all its fearsome reputation, is under far more stringent political and budgetary control than most of its critics know or concede, and that since the Bay of Pigs disaster in Cuba in 1961 these controls have been tightly exercised.

The consensus of those interviewed was that the critics' favorite recommendation for a stronger rein on the agencya Congressional committee to oversee the C.I.A.—would probably provide little more real control than now exists and might both restrict the agency's effectiveness and actually shield it from those who desire more knowledge about its operations.

A Matter of Will

Other important conclusions of the study include the follow-

ing:

While the institutional forms of political control appear effective and sufficient, it is really the will of the political officials who must exert control that is important and that has most often been lacking.

TEven when control is tight and effective, a more important question may concern the extent to which C.I.A. information and policy judgments affect political decisions in foreign affairs.

Whether or not political control is being exercised, the more serious question is whether the very existence of an efficient C.I.A. causes the United States Government to rely too much on clandestine and illicit activities, back-alley tactics, subversion and what is known in official jargon as "dirty tricks."

Trinally, regardless of the facts, the C.I.A.'s reputation in

the world is so horrendous and its role in events so exaggerated that it is becoming a burden on American foreign policy, rather that the secret weapon it was intended to be.

The Singapore incident, with its bizarre repercussions five years later, is an excellent lesson in how that has happened, although none of the fears of the critics are justified by the facts of the particular case.

Problem in Singapore

The ill-fated agent who blew out the lights flew from Tokyo out the lights new from Tokyo to Singapore only after a pro-longed argument inside the C.I.A. Singapore, a strategic Asian port with a large Chinese population, was soon to get its independence from Britain and enter the Malaysian Federation. Should C.I.A. recruit some well-

Acting on Orders

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Four Release, 2003/03/25, it is a consistence of the clip. The lease of the C.I.A. cannot but critics of the C.I.A. cannot contain in any in the lease of the control, "making of the control," "making of the control of t ice to bypass or double-check on

an ally.

(On Vice President Humphrey's visit late last year to the rey's visit late 1a.st year to the capitals of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and the Philippines, Secret Service agents found at least three "bugs." or listening devices, hidden in his private quarters by one of his hosts.)

The agent who flew from Tokyo to Singapore was on a recruiting mission, and the lie detector, an instrument used by the C.I.A. on its cwn employes, was intended to test the reliability of a local candidate for a

spy's job.

When the machine shorted out the lights in the hotel, the visiting agent, the would-be spy and another C.I.4 man were discovered. They wound up in a Singapore jail. There they were reported to have been "tortured"—either for real, or to extract a ransom.

The Price Was High

Secret discussions—apparently through C.I.A. channels—were held about the sibility of buying the agents' freedom with increased American foreign aid, but Washing on eventually decided Singapore's price was too high. The men were subsequently released.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk the Kennedy Administration had succeeded to of ice in January, 1961—wrote a formal apology to Premier Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore and promised to discipline the culprits. That appeared to have ended

the matter until last fall, when Premier Lee broke away from the Malaysian Federation and sought to establish himself for political reasons as more nearly a friend of Britain man of the United States, although his anti-Americanism was short of pro-

Communism.

To help achieve this purpose,
Mr. Lee disclosed the 1960 "affront" without giving any detalls, except to say that he had been offered a paltry \$3.3-million bribe when he had demanded

\$33-million.

\$33-million.
The State Department, which had been routinely fed a denial of wrongdoing by C.I.A. officials who did not know of the Rusk apology, described the charge as false. Mr. Lee then published Mr. Rusk's letter of 1961 and threatened also to play some interesting tape recordings for the press.

Hastily, Washington confessed not to the bribe offer, which is hotly denied by all officials connected with the incident, or the incident itself, but to having done something that had merited an apology.

London, infuriated in the first in keeping the Congo out of in keeping the Congo out of in keeping the Congo out of the C.I.A.'s mistrust of MI-6, now funed a second time about clumsy factics in Washington.

mishaps of chance can easily be found in the Singapore incident, but critics of the C.I.A. cannot easily find in it proof of the charges so often raised about the agency—"control," "making policy" and "undermining policy"

The agent in Singapore was acting on direct orders from Washington. His superiors in the C.I.A. were acting within the directives of the President and the National Security Council. The mission was not contrary to American foreign policy, was not undertaken to change or subvert that policy, and was not dangerously fool-hardy. It was not much more than routine and would not have been unusual in any in-

have been unusual in any in-telligence service in the world. Nevertheless, the Sinagpore incident—the details of which have been shrouded in the C.I.A.'s enforced secrecy—add-ed greatly to the rising tide of dark suspicion that many people throughout the world, including many in this country harbor many in this country, harbor about the agency and its activities.

Carl Rowan, the former di-Carl Rowan, the former director of the United States Information Agency and former Ambassador to Finland, wrote last year in his syndicated column that "during a recent tour of East Africa and Southeast Asia, it was made clear to me that suspicion and fear of the C.I.A. has become a sort of Achilles heel of American foreign policy." eign policy."

President Sukarno of Indonesia, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's Chief of State, President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, former President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and many other leaders have repeatedly insisted that behind the regular American government there is an "invisible government," the C.I.A., threatening them all with infiltration, subversion and even war. Communist China and the Soviet Union sound this

theme endlessly.
"The Invisible Government" "The Invisible Government" was the phrase applied to American intelligence agencies, and particularly the C.I.A., in a book of that title by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. It was a best-seller in the United Partes and among many government officials abroad.

Subject of Humor

So prevalent is the C.I.A. rep-So prevalent is the C.I.A. reputation of menace in so much of the world that even humorists have taken note of it. The New Yorker magazine last December printed a dation sawing two natives of absurage filed country watching a scano crupt. One native is sailing to the other: "The C.I.A. did it. Pass the word." the word."

In Southeast Asia, even the most rational leaders are said to be ready to believe anything about the C.I.A.

Many earnest Americans, too, are bitter critics of the C.I.A.
Senator Fugene J. McCarthy, Democrat of Minnesota, has charged that the agency "is making foreign policy and in so doing is assuming the roles of President and Congress." He has introduced a proposal to create introduced a proposal to create a special Foreign Relations sub-committee to make a "full and complete" study of the effects of CIA. C.I.A. operations on United States foreign relations.
Senator Stephen M. Young,

Democrat of Ohio, has proposed that a joint Senate-House committee oversee the C.I.A. because, "wrapped in a cloak of secrecy, the C.I.A. has in effect, been making foreign policy."

Mayor Lindsay of New York, while a Republican member of Congress, indicted the C.I.A. on the House floor for a long series.

the House floor for a long series of fiascos, including the most

of fiascos, including the most famous blunder in recent American history—the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.
Former President Harry S. Truman, whose Administration established the C.I.A. in 1947, said in 1963 that by then he saw "something about the way the C.I.A. has been functioning that is casting a shadow over our historic positions, and I feel that we need to correct it."

Kennedy's Bitterness

And President Kennedy, as the enormity of the Bay of Pigs disaster came home to him, said to one of the highest officials of his Administration that he wanted "to splinter the C.I.A. in a thousand pieces and scatter it to the winds."

Even some who defend the C.I.A. as the indispensable eyes and ears of the Government— for example Allen Dulles, the agency's most famous director— now fear that the cumulative criticism and suspicion, at home and abroad, have impaired the C.I.A.'s effectiveness and therefore the nation's safety.

They are anxious to see the

criticisms answered and the suspictons allayed, even if—in some cases—the agency should thus become more exposed to domestic politics and to compromises

of security. Congressional committee with responsibility for intelligence would quiet public fears and rewould quiet public fears and restore public confidencesin the C.I.A.," Mr. Dulles said in the C.I.A.," Mr. Dulles said interview, "then I now think it would be worth doing deprits some of the problems it would cause the agency."

Secause this view is said and varying degree by numerous friends of the C.I.A. and because its critics are virtually unanimous in calling for more "commous in call

widespread uneasines about the C.I.A. and of how little is known about the agency.

For the truth is that despite the C.I.A.'s international reputation, few persons in or out of

the American Government know much about its work its organization, its supervision or its relationship to the other arms of the executive branch.

former chairman of the other chairs of Staff, for installed, no idea how big the C.I.A. budget was. A Senator, experienced in foreign affairs, proved in an interview to know proved, in an interview, to know very little about, but to fear very much, its operations.

Many critics do not know that threadly all C.I.A. expenditures that the authorized in advance in the control of the control

must be authorized in advance first by an Administration committee that includes some of committee that includes some or the highest-ranking political of-graphicals and White House staff assistants, then by officials in the Bureau of the Budget, who have the power to rule out or reduce an expenditure.

They do not know that, instead of a blank check, the

They do not know that, instead of a blank check, the C.I.A. has an annual budget of the following the more than \$500-million—will one first the \$3-billion the the syriment spends on its overall intelligence effort. The National Security Agency, a cryptographic and code-breaking operator run by the Defense Department and almost never questioned by outsiders, spends twice as much as the C.I.A.

The critics shrug aside the

The critics shrug aside the act that President Kennedy, fter the most rigorous inquiry nto the agency's affairs, meth-s and problems after the Bay Pigs, did not "splinter" fter all and did not recommend

ongressional supervision.
They may be unaware that ince then supervision of intelligence activities has been tightened. When President Eisentower write a letter to all Ambassadors placing them in charge of all American activities in their fall American activities in their countries of followed it with a secret letter specifically exempting the C.I.A.; but when President Rennedy put the Ambassadors in command of all activities, he sent a secret letter specifically including the C.I.A. It is still in effect but, like all directives, variously interpreted.

Out of a Spy Novel

The critics, quick to point to the agency's publicized blunders and setbacks, are not mollified the genuine achievements— its precise prediction of the date on which the Chinese Commurde's would explode a nuclear device; its fantastic world of electronic devices; its use of a spy, Oleg Penkovskiy, to reach into the Kremlin fixelf; its work

tioned by critics, as it always is, the emphasis is usually on the C.I.A.'s—and the Bisenhower Administration's—plinter in permitting Francis Gary Powers's flight over the Soviet Union in 1960, just before a scheduled summit conference. Not much is usually said of the incalculable intelligence value of the undis-turbed U-2 flights between 1956 and 1960 over the heartland of

And when critics frequently charge that C.I.A. operations contradict and sabstage official American policy, they may not know that the C.J.A. is often overruled in its policy judg-

ments. .

As an example the C.I.A. strongly urged the Kennedy Administration not to recognize the Egyptian-backed Yemeni regime and warned that President Nasser would not quickly pull his froops out of Yemen. Ambassador John Badeau thought otherwise His advice was accepted, the republic was recognized; President Nasser's trocks remained—aid much military and political trouble followed that the C.I.A. had foreseen and the State Department had not.

Nor do critics always give the C.I.A. credit where it is due for its vital and daily service as an accurate and encyclopedic source of quick news, information, analysis and deduction about everyysis and deduction about everything from a new police chief in Mozambique to all aid agreement between Communist China and Albania, from the state of President Sukarno's health to the meaning of Nikita S. Karushchev fall from power,

Yet the critics' favorite indictments are specialular enough

ments are spectabular enough to explain the works suspicions and fears of the C.I.A. and its

operations.

A sorry episode in Asia in the early ninteen-fifties is a frequently cited example. C.I.A. agents gathered remnants of the defeated Chinese Nationalist armies in the jungles of northwest Burma, supplied them with gold and arms and encouraged

gold and arms and encouraged them to raid Comrunist China.
One aim was to harrass Peking to a point where it might retaliate against Burma, forcing the Burmese to turn to the the Burmese to turn to the United States for protection.

Actually, few raids occurred, and the army became a froublesome and costly burden. The C.I.A. had enlisted the help of C.I.A. had enlisted the help of Gen. Phao Srivanod, the police chief of Thailand—and a leading narcotics dealer. The Nationalists, with the blaces and gold furnished their agents, went into the order of the Nationalists, with the blaces and gold furnished their agents, went into the order of the Nationalists, with the blaces and gold furnished their agents, went into the order of the Nationalists of the

nouk as an attempt to over-throw him. It failed but drove him farther down the road that ultimately led to his break in diplomatic relations with Wash-

Indonesian Venture

Indonesian Venture
Indonesia in the same year, as many he advice of American ninomats, the C.I.A. was authorised to fly in supplies from Taiwan and the Philippines to aid army officers rebeling against President Sukarno in Sumairs and Java. An American pilot was shot down on a bombing mission and was released only at the insistent urgleased only at the insistent urging of the Kennedy Administration in 1962. Mr. Sukarno, na-turally enough, drew the obvious conclusions; how much of his conclusions; how much of his fear and dislike of the United States can be traced to those days is hard to say.

In 1960, C.I.A. agents in Laos, disguised as "military advisers," stuffed ballot boxes and engineers local unitsing to help.

scurred banot boxes and engineered local uprisings to help a hand-picked strongman, Gen. Phoumi Nosavan, Se up a "pro-American" government that was desired by Fresident Pistonhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

This operation succeeded—so This operation succeeded—so much so that it stimulated Soviet intervention on the side of let ist Laotians, who counterattacked the Plaufit government. When the Kennedy Administration set out to reverse the policy of the Eisenhower Administration, it found the C.I.A. deeply committed to Phoumi Nosovap and needed two years of legotiations and threats to restore the neutralist fthreats to restore the neutralist regime of Prince Souvanna Phouma.

Phouma.
Pro-Communist Laotians, howlyer, were never again driven
from the border of North Vietnam, and it is through that region that the Vietcong in South
Vietnam have been supplied and
replentined in their war, to destroy stilf another C.I.A.-aided
roject, the non-Communist govtument in Saigon.

Catalogue of Charges

It was the C.I.A. that built It was the C.I.A. that built up Ngo Dinh Diem as the promerican head of South Vietthat after the French through
imperor Bao Dai, had found
imperor Bao Dai, had found
im in a monastery cell in Beltim and brought throback to
laigon as Premier. And it was
the C.I.A. that helped persuade
the Eisenhower and Kennedy
diministrations to ride out the
lethamese storm with Diem—
probably too long.
These recorded incidents not

thing anyone wanted to accuse it. of.

It has been accused of.

'Plotting the assassmation of Jawaharlal Nehru of India a Provoking the 1965 war between India and Pakistan.

Gengineering the "plot" that became the pretext for the murder of India Indonesia enerals last var.

Generals last var.

Generals as a Parice Lumumba in the Congo.

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Generals as a Parice Lumumba in the Congo.

in Raris.
Plotfing the overthrow of President Kwame Nkrumah of

Ghana.
All of these charges and many similar to them are fabrications, authoritative officials outside the C.I.A. insist.
The C.I.A. insist.
The C.I.A. insist.
The C.I.A. insist.
The C.I.A. in notoriety even enables some enemies to recover from their own mistakes. A former American official unconmer American official uncon-nected with the agency recalls that pro-Chinese elements in East Africa once circulated a East Africa once circulated a document urging revolts against several governments. When this inflammatory message backfired on its authors, they promptly spread the word at it was a C.I.A. forgery destined to discredit them—and some believed the falsehood. the falsehood.

byious Deduction
"Many otherwise rational Af-"Many otherwise rational Africar leaders are ready to take forgeries at face value," one observer the control of the cause deep down they industily fear the C.I.A. Its image in this part of the world couldn't be worse."

The image feeds on the rankest of a prications as well as on the wildest of stories for the simple reason that the wildest of stories are not always false, and the C.I.A. is often involved and all too often obvious.

When an embassy subordi-

when an embassy subordinate in Lagos, Nigeria, known to be the C.I.A. station chief had a fancier house than the United States Ambassador, Niterians made the obvious deduc-tion about who was in charge. When President João Goulart

of Brazil fell from power in 1964 and C.I.A. men were accused of being among his most energetic opponents, exaggerated conclusions as to who had ousted him were natural.

It is not only abroad that such C.I.A. involvements—real or imaginery—have aroused dire fears and suspicions. Theodore C. Sorensen has written, for instance, that the Peace Corps in its early days strove manfully, and apparently successfully, to keep its ranks free of C.I.A. in-

of arranging things are that when Camal Abdel Naster tame to power in Egypt the manager over the Egypt to Form the Egypt the Egypt the Egypt to Form the Egypt the Egypt the Egypt the Egypt the Egypt to Form the Egypt the Eg

Some of their fear has been misplaced; the C.I.A. is no longer so dependent on clandestine agents and other institutions' resources, But as in the case of its overseas reputation, its actual activities in the United States—for instance, its ald in financing a center for interna-tional studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technologyhave made the fear of infiltration real to many scholars and

businesses.

The revelation that C.I.A. agents served among Michigan State University scholars in South Vietnam from 1955 to 1959 has contributed to the fear. The nature of the agents' work and the circumstances of their employment are in dispute, but their very involvement, even relatively long ago, has aroused concern that hundreds of scholarly and charitable American

efforts abroad will be tainted and hampered by the suspicions

of other governments.

Thus, it is easy for sincere men to believe deeply that the C.I.A. must be brought "to heel" in the nation's own interest. Yet every well-informed official and former official with recent knowledge of the C.I.A. and its activities who was interviewed confirmed what Secretary of State Rusk has said publicly—that the C.I.A. "does not initiate actions unknown to the high policy leaders of the Government."

The New York Times survey left no doubt that, whatever its miscalculations, blunders and misfortunes, whatever may have been the situation during its bumptious early days and dur-ing its over-hasty expansion in and after the Korean War, the agency acts today not on its own but with the approval and under the control of the political leaders of the United States Government.

But that virtually undisputed fact raises in itself the central questions that emerge from the survey: What is control? And who guards the guards?

For it is upon information provided by the C.I.A. itself that those who must approve its ac-tivities are usually required to decide.

It is the C.I.A. that has the money (not unlimited but ample) and the talent (as much as any agency) not only to conceive but also to carry out projects of great importance—and commensurate risk.

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Action, If Not Success is the C.L.A., unlike the ease Department with its location in violvements, unlike the State Department with its with its international dipartic responsibilities and its left builty to criticism, that test of all agencies to advoit its projects and press home views; the C.L.A. can promaction, if not success. and both the agency and se who must pass upon its Defense Department with its service rivalries, budget concerns and politica, involvements, and unlike the State Department with its international diplomatic responsibilities and its vulnerability to criticism, that is freest of all agencies to advocate it projects and press home its views; the C.J.A. can promise action, if not success.

And both the agency and

And both the agency and those who must pass upon its plans are shielded by security from the outside oversight and review under which virtually all other officials operate, at home and abroad

Thus, while the survey left no doubt that the C.I.A. operates under strict forms of control, it raised the more serious question whether there was always the

substance of control.

In many ways, moreover, public discussion has become too centered on the question of control. A more disturbing mat-ter may be whether the nation has allowed itself to go too far in the grim and sometimes deadly business of espionage and secret operations.

One of the best-informed men

on this subject in Washington described that business as "ugly, mean and cruel. The agency loses men and no one ever hears of them again, he said, and when "we catch one of them" (a Soviet or other agent), it be-

(a Soviet or other agent), it becomes necessary "to get everything out of them and we do it with no holds barred."

Secretary Rusk has said publicly that there is "a tough struggle going on in the back alleys all over the world." "It's a tough one, it's impleasant, and no one likes it, but that is not a field which can be left entirely the other side," I'e said.

The back-alley struggle, he conclyded, is "a never-ending war, and there's no quarter asked and none given."

'Struggle for Freedom'

'Struggle for Freedom'

But that struggle, Mr. Rusk insisted, is "part of the strug-gle for freedom."

gle for freedom.

No one seriously disputes that the effort to gain intelligence about real or potential enemies, even about one's friends, is a vital part of any government's activities, particularly a government so burdened with responsibility as the United States Government in the 20th century.

But beyond their need for information, how iar should the control leaders of the United States go in approving the clan-

States go in approving the clandestine violation of treaties and borders, financing of coups, in-fluencing of parties and governments, without jarnishing and retarding those ideas of freedom and self-government they proclaim to the world?

A year ago, for instance, it was reported that some of the was reported that some of the anti-Castro Cuban survivors of the Bay of Pigs were flying in combat in deepest, darkest Africa. Any Madison Avenue publisher would recognize that as right out of Ian Fleming and James Bond.

But to the bookish and tweedy

But to the bookish and tweedy men who labor in the pastoral setting of the C.I.A.'s huge building on the banks of the Potomac River near Langley, Va., the story was only a satisfying episode in the back-alley version of "Struggle for Free-



THE C. I. A.—GOOD, BAD OR OTHERWISE? Much discussed and criticized, the Central Intelligence Agency has not escaped humorous treatment either. Its detractors Approved For Release 2003 103/25 ever Aur Diffe 813004 32 Per 00300 620 600 17 understand it.